

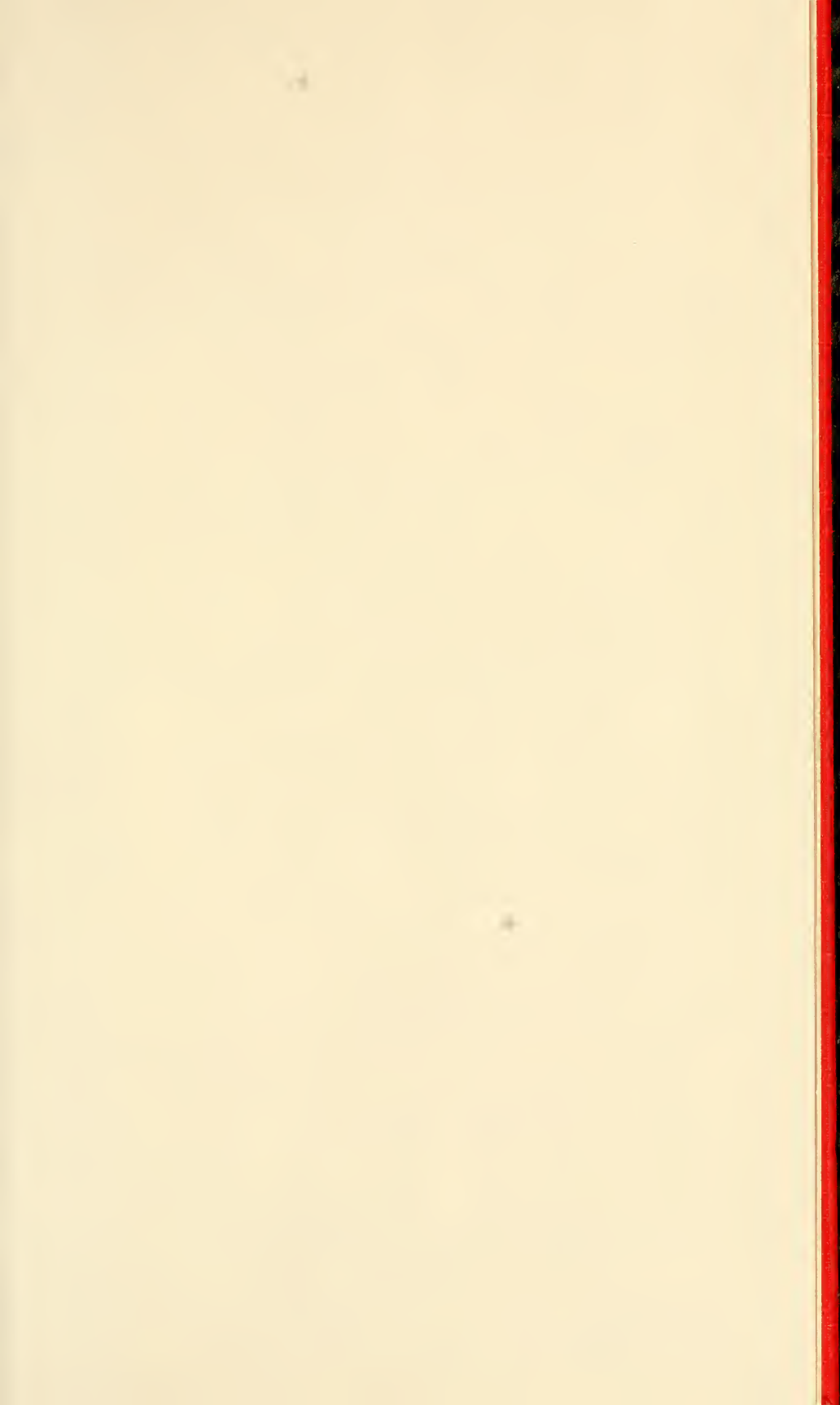
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HAVE WE A PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS?

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 9, 1893.

BY THE PRESIDENT, CHARLES P. <sup>Patrick</sup> DALY, LL.D.





# HAVE WE A PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS?\*

ANNUAL ADDRESS, JANUARY 9, 1893.

BY

CHAS. P. DALY, LL.D.

William Roscoe, the eminent author of the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, the "Magnificent," and of other valuable biographical works, expresses the opinion that there are no representations which interest so strongly the curiosity of mankind as portraits. That a high degree of pleasure, he says, of which almost every one is susceptible, is experienced in contemplating the looks and countenances of those men who, by their genius, or their virtues, have entitled themselves to the esteem and admiration of future ages.

It appeared to me, therefore, as we have recently celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of this Continent by Columbus, that it would be appropriate at such a period to devote the annual address of the president of an American geographical society to the enquiry whether we have any portrait of the great discoverer. It is an enquiry to which I

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\* Reprint from the "Bulletin of the American Geographical Society." Vol. XXV., No. 1, 1893.

have given attention for some years. I have seen both here and in Europe very nearly all the pictures claimed to be his portrait. I have read everything, I think, relating to the enquiry that has been published and feel that I am able, at least, to lay before you all that is known upon the subject.

It is a very difficult one, as is the case with so many things respecting Columbus ; for I doubt if any distinguished man ever lived, about whom there is so much that is conflicting, contradictory and perplexing.

Twenty-three places have been claimed to have been his birthplace. He said himself that he was born in the city of Genoa, and Mr. Henry Harrisse, after an exhaustive research, has, I think, established that this was true, and yet there are some who still maintain that he was not born in the city of Genoa, but in some village near it.

The year of his birth is disputed. It has been questioned whether the name by which he is known was the true name of his family. Mr. Harrisse has shown by documentary evidence who was his father and his grandfather, and the humble occupation they followed ; yet a recent writer, Harold Frederick, in the *London Illustrated News*, of October 12, 1892, says that the only credible information is that he was closely related to a notorious and blood-thirsty pirate, the terror of the merchant galleys of Venice, whose real name was unknown, and who, with "a grim piratical pleasantry," called himself "Colombo" or the Dove, a name adopted by his son, who surpassed his father in ferocity, and who called himself Colombo Giovane, or the younger, and that Columbus "seems to have spent most of his



earlier life with "these Corsairs, his cousins, in their piratical fleet; that with them he burned, murdered and pillaged, from the Tunisian coast to the Flemish dunes and ravaged in pious zeal the infidel seaboard." That with Colombo the Younger he bore his part in the great sea fight off Cape St. Vincent in 1485, and that "when the buccaneering Colombi disappear from human records the discoverer turns up, an impoverished marine adventurer, in Lisbon, and enters upon a career of comparative respectability;" in respect to which it may be said that if there is anything certain about his early career, it is that he was in Lisbon and had lived there a married man for several years before the battle referred to was fought.

What has hitherto been received as reliable, his life, by his son Fernando, and which has been the main source of what knowledge we have had of his earlier career, has been subjected to a critical examination by Mr. Harris, who has written a volume to show that it has been extensively tampered with and cannot be relied upon as authentic.

His reception at Barcelona by Ferdinand and Isabella, of which such a glowing account is given in his life by Washington Irving, Aaron Goodrich, in his life of Columbus, pronounces "an exploded popular error," upon the authority of the late Charles Sumner, who in 1844 searched the admirably arranged archives of Aragon and of the city of Barcelona, for some record of such a prominent event and could find nothing respecting it. A diario, or day book, was kept at the time in Barcelona, in which the arrival of ambassadors, the movements of the

king and queen, the public festivities and the trifling incidents, which in our day are found in court journals, were duly recorded, and yet, Mr. Sumner says, "not a word appears in it in regard to Columbus."

And finally the place where his remains now repose is disputed, and during the past five years fourteen works, twelve in Spanish and two in Italian, have been published upon that subject.

The same conflict and uncertainty exist with regard to his portraits. There is no portrait or pictorial representation of his person, that can positively be declared to be authentic; nor is there any evidence upon which it can be asserted as a fact, that he sat for a portrait, and M. F. Feuillet de Conches, who wrote an article on the portraits of Columbus, in 1856, for the *Revue Contemporaine*, asks: Is it presumable that Oviedo, his son Ferdinand, and after them, Benzoni and Herrera, would have entered into such a detail of his personal appearance, if there had then existed a portrait of him, to refer to? and Mr. Harrisse says that as to the portraits painted, engraved or sculptured, which figure in collections, in public places and in the form of cuts, there is not one that is authentic. It is all pure fancy.\*

Notwithstanding this, I believe, that he did sit for a portrait and probably for more than one. It is my belief that we have his true lineaments, and my address this evening will be devoted to showing upon what that belief is founded.

The fact, that up to this time, there is no portrait of Columbus that can be duly authenticated, explains

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\* Christophe Colomb, Hen. Harr., Tome II., p. 166.

why, during the latter part of the last century and throughout the present one, so many pictures have appeared that have been claimed to be original portraits of him, all of them differing more or less from each other; and what is remarkable is the credulity with which distinguished scholars and writers upon Columbus, and the events connected with him, have accepted some of these as genuine and had them engraved for their works without any evidence in support of them. Any one, in fact, has felt at liberty to believe and to persuade others, that some old portrait he has got possession of is an original portrait of Columbus. Painters, sculptors and engravers have also felt at liberty to offer anything as their conception of his true likeness, the result of which has been to produce the greatest confusion, and to warrant the assertion that no man probably has ever lived of whom there have been so many different representations in portraiture.

Our associate, Mr. Ponce de Leon, who, like myself, has been for many years engaged in this enquiry, and to whom I have been indebted for much information, tells me that he has seen more than 450 different representations of Columbus. I have myself seen a great many, and about a month ago, in looking over my collection, Mr. Ponce de Leon found twelve that he had never seen before.

Another explanation is that up to the present century no investigation was made. In 1823 Spotorno, an Italian writer, devoted a few pages to the subject, but what may be called an investigation was not undertaken until Don Valentin Carderera y Solano, an eminent Spanish painter and archæologist, and author

of that great work on the Art Monuments of Spain, *Iconografía Española*, and other artistic works, alike distinguished for their learning and their accuracy, who knew more of the history of Spanish art than any one before him, published in 1851 a most valuable memoir upon the subject,\* which was followed in 1856 by the paper of de Conches, to which I have referred.

When the citizens of Genoa in 1842 contemplated erecting in that city a monument to Columbus, the municipality applied to the Spanish government to ascertain if any portrait of him was known in Spain, or for any information existing there on the subject. The government referred the matter to the Royal Academy of Madrid, and the Academy appointed a committee, of which Carderera was chairman, who in 1851 made a most exhaustive report, which the Academy published, giving everything that was then known either in Spain or elsewhere upon the subject, and laying down what must be the true line of enquiry in any investigation thereafter for further information.

Yet, notwithstanding the elaborate investigation of Carderera, and the concurrence forty years ago of Feuillet de Conches in its result, this confusion still continues, and we had an illustration of it, in the Centennial Celebration in this city last October, in the appearance in shop-windows, upon the public buildings, and in the streets, of a number of different-looking personages as Columbus.

Many anecdotes might be given to illustrate the effect which all this has produced. One which I heard

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\* Informe sobre los retratos de Cristobal Colon, su traje y escudo de armas por Don Valentin Carderera, Madrid, 1851. 4to.



when I was in Seville in 1881 will suffice. There was in the library, left by Columbus' son, Fernando, to the Cathedral of Seville, a portrait of Columbus. An artist asked what was thought of it, and the custodian replied that it was one of the most reliable portraits; upon which the artist said: "I am glad to hear it, for I painted it from imagination, and exhibited it at the Exposition in Paris, at the close of which it was bought by a Spanish gentleman."

As an aid in this enquiry, we have the description that has come down to us of the personal appearance of Columbus by those who knew him. It is not only very particular, but the five persons from whom it is derived substantially agree with each other. To this test therefore all pictures claimed to be true portraits of him must be subjected, and when it is applied it reduces them to a comparatively small number, and it is those only that I shall seriously consider.

The earliest description of the person of Columbus is found in a work attributed to Angelo Trivigiano, entitled "*Libretto di tutta la navigazione dei Rei de Spagna, Venezia,*" 1504 (Account of all the Navigations of the Kings of Spain), in which he is described as a "robust man, of a tall stature, ruddy and with a long face."

The next description of him is given in a collection of voyages entitled "*Mondo Novo e Paesi Nuovamente Ritrovati*" (the New World recently discovered), attributed to Alessandro Zorzi, a cosmographer and cartographer of Venice, which was published in Vicenza in 1507, one year after Columbus' death. It contains a brief description of the great navigator, which



is as follows : "This Christopher Columbus of Genoa was a tall, straight man, of great understanding, and long visage."

The next is by Oviedo, who knew Columbus personally. He was a page of the king, with Columbus' son, Fernando, and was in Barcelona when Columbus came to that city to meet Ferdinand and Isabella upon his return from his first voyage, and Oviedo saw him then.

Ovieda says "he was a man of honest parents and life, of good stature and aspect, rather tall than of middle height and with robust limbs. His eye was lively and the other *features of his face*\* were in good proportion ; his hair being red and his face somewhat ruddy and freckled." He says that "he spoke well, was wary and of great intelligence, a good Latin scholar and a most learned cosmographer"; that "he was gracious, when he wished to be, but wrathful when aroused."†

The next is by Las Casas. This is the most valuable of the several descriptions of him by his contemporaries, because it is the fullest, and by a man who knew him well in the latter part of his life. He says : "As regards his exterior and physique, he was tall, above the medium size ; his face was long and dignified ; his nose aquiline, his eyes bluish, his complexion inclining towards a glowing red. His hair and beard, when he was young, were fair, but very soon turned white with so much fatigue. He was witty and lively, speaking very well, but was eloquent and vainglorious when speaking of himself. He was serious with moderation, friendly to strangers, amiable and pleasant with the people of his

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\* HARRISSE erroneously translates it "other parts of his body."

† Oviedo, Book II., c. 2.

household. With moderate gravity, he was discreet in conversation, and so he could gain easily the love of those who met him. Finally, he represented, with a venerable aspect, a person of great position and authority and worthy of all reverence. He was sober and moderate in his eating, drinking, dressing and shoeing.”\*

His son Ferdinand’s description of his father is this : “ The Admiral was a man well-formed and of more than the medium stature ; of a long visage and with cheeks a little high, without inclining to fat or lean. He had an aquiline nose and light eyes. He was fair, with a lively color. In his youth he had blond hair, although when he reached thirty years of age it became white.” †

There is a description of Columbus by Benzoni, who never saw him. Benzoni went to the New World in 1541, thirty-five years after the death of Columbus, and remained there for fourteen years, and may have received the very particular description he gives from persons there who had known Columbus. I refer to it, not only because it agrees with the previous descriptions, but because it is of interest, as it is the only one that mentions that his mouth was a little large, a feature observable in what are known to be the older portraits. He says, “ He was a man of reasonable stature, of sound and vigorous limbs, of good judgment, of lofty mind and of gentlemanly aspect. He had lively eyes, red hair, an aquiline nose and the mouth a little large, and

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\* Las Casas. *Historia de Las Indias*. Madrid, 1875. Vol. I., p. 43.

† *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo descritta da Ferdinando suo Figlio*. Capitolo III., p. 12.

above all he was a friend of justice, but wrathful when he was offended." \*

Andres Bernaldez, Cura de los Palacios, was an intimate personal friend of Columbus, who was a frequent guest at his house. He gives in his "*Historia de los Reyes Católicos*" (Vol. II., p. 78) the following account of Columbus, upon his return from his second voyage: "The admiral came to Castile in the month of June, 1496, in a dress of the color of a Franciscan friar. It was almost exactly the shape or form of the dress of such a friar, with the cord of St. Francis around his waist, as an act of devotion." I refer to it, because in the earliest representation of his person, positively known, he is clothed in a dress of this kind.

What we get from these descriptions is that he was a straight, well-built man, who was rather above the medium height, that he had a long visage and high cheek bones, but with the lineaments of his face well-proportioned; that his eyes were light and piercing, his nose aquiline, and his complexion fair; that in his youth his hair had been red, but became white when he was thirty; which may be regarded as sufficient to test the authenticity of anything claimed to be a portrait of him.

A knowledge of the character of a man is of some assistance in judging of the genuineness of what is claimed to be his portrait. Many judge of the character of a person by the face, the features or the general expression. Women do so intuitively. But in the case of Columbus there is as much uncertainty about his character as there is in so many things respecting him.

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\* Benzoni, *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, Lib. I., p. 30.

It would naturally be supposed that a biographer, after a full investigation of all that is known respecting a man, would be able to present a carefully considered and reliable statement of his character, but so far from this being the case, the conflict among the biographers of Columbus is not only greater but more extreme than elsewhere.

More than sixty years ago, Washington Irving, in his life of Columbus, gave a carefully drawn sketch of his character, founded upon all that was then known respecting him. It is too long to quote entire, but I will give substantially the material part of it. In him, he says, were singularly combined the poetical and the practical. His mind grasped all kinds of knowledge whether procured by study or observation; while his daring, but irregular genius, bursting the limits of imperfect science, bore him to conclusions far beyond the intellectual vision of his contemporaries. He discerned the phenomena of the exterior world with wonderful quickness of perception, and the ability of quickly converting facts to principles distinguishes him from the dawn to the close of his sublime enterprise. He aimed at dignity and wealth in the same lofty spirit in which he sought renown. He was devoutly pious, religion mingling with the whole course of his thoughts and actions. He was a man of quick sensibility, liable to great excitement, to sudden and powerful impulses. He was naturally irritable and impetuous; keenly sensible to injury and injustice, yet the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. He was free from the feeling of revenge, ready to forget and to forgive, and the magnanimity of his nature shows

forth through all the troubles of his stormy career. While Irving does not justify his enslaving the native population, he considers that he was goaded on by the mercenary impatience of the crown, the sneers of his enemies and the unprofitable result of his enterprises. That it was a blot upon his illustrious name and should be considered as an error of the times in which he lived.\*

Prescott has said that "Whatever the defects of Columbus' mental constitution, the finger of the historian will find it difficult to point to a single blemish in his moral character. That whether we contemplate his character in its public or private relations, in all its features it wears the same noble aspect. It was in perfect harmony with the grandeur of his plans, and with results more stupendous than those which Heaven has permitted any other mortal to achieve."

In respect to these passages, the last American biographer of Columbus, Mr. Justin Winsor, the librarian of Harvard College, assumes the responsibility of saying, especially in respect to the observation of Prescott, that it is difficult to point to a more flagrant disregard of truth; that it seems to mark an obdurate purpose to disguise the truth, and that this "is nowhere more patent than in the palliating hero-worship of Washington Irving."

Upon a charge so severe and sweeping as this I feel that it is due to these two distinguished American authors to mention that Humboldt told me in 1851 that there was then no historian in Europe that he would place above Mr. Prescott; and as to Washington Irving's

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\* *Life of Columbus*, Vol. II., B. iv., c. 5, Putnam's ed. N. Y., 1849.

biography, Navarrete, who was certainly competent to judge, said, after it was published, that in fulness, impartiality and exactness it was superior to any that had preceded it,\* and Mr. Harrisse, who was equally, and in view of what is now known, even more competent, and who is not given to undue praise, says, in a recent publication : † “ The work of Washington Irving is more than literary. It is a history, executed with judgment and impartiality, which leaves far behind all descriptions of the discovery of the New World, published before, or since. He studied with care almost all the documents that were known in his time, which testifies to the probity of his researches.”

In 1856 Roselly De Lorgues, a French writer, published a biography of Columbus, in which, in his estimate of his character, he transcends anything said by Irving, Prescott, or any other writer. “ We see in him,” he says, “ a man who in virtue was perfect; of entire purity of heart; who in moral grandeur surpasses the most celebrated types of antiquity and who is not inferior to the noblest heroes formed by the Gospel; a man who from the nature of his mind and his religious character, partook more of heaven than of earth,” and closes in these words : “ To express our deepest conviction, we declare before man who knows it not and before God who knows, Christopher Columbus was a Saint,” printing the last sentence in large capitals. ‡

Whilst this French writer raises Columbus to an ele-

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\* Irving's *Life of Columbus*, Vol. I. Preface, XVII. N. Y.: G. P. Putnam, 1850.

† *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 163.

‡ *Histoire de Christophe Colomb* par Roselly de Lorgues. Paris, 1856. Tome II., pp. 443, 465, 472, 476.



vation so high, a subsequent American biographer Aaron Goodrich, sinks him to a depth correspondingly low. He accuses him of cupidity, ingratitude, arrogance, perfidy and treachery. He declares that his prevailing traits were hypocrisy and deceit, with which were combined cowardice and cruelty, and that it was from some such an original that Molière drew his character of Tartuffe; that his tastes were brutal, that no character in history so successfully made a cloak of religion, and that no depravity could be attributed to him that would be too gross for belief; that the love of gain and not science or religion was his motive power; that Gold was his God; and winds up the chapter upon his character in these words: "We look in vain through his life for any trait or action that would endear him to the heart of men, for one deed that may be regarded as the impulse of a great and noble or of a generous heart; we find nothing but low cunning, arrogance, avarice, religious cant, deceit and cruelty." \*

Winsor's observation upon this degrading picture of the great discoverer is, that "The critic's temper is too peevish and his opinions are too unreservedly biased to make his results of any value," † and gives his own estimate of Columbus, which is not a laudatory one. He describes him as "a creature of buffeting circumstances," and "a weakling in every element of command;" that while "not destitute of keen observation of nature, this quality was not infrequently prostituted to ignoble purposes;" that he was "a devout Catholic,

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\* Goodrich's *Life of Columbus*, pp. 86, 131, 321, 350, 355, 358, 364, 370. N. Y., 1874

† Winsor's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 504. Boston and New York, 1872.



according to the Catholicism of his epoch, but that when tried by any test that finds the perennial in holy acts," he does not bear examination ; that there was "no all-loving Deity in his conception," but "his Lord was one in whose name it was convenient to practise enormities ;" that while "he mourned bitterly that his own efforts were ill-requited, he had no pity for the miseries of others ;" that "no man ever evinced less capacity for ruling a colony ;" that "the problems he encountered were those that required an eye to command, with tact to persuade and will to coerce, and he had none of them ;" whereas J. G. Kohl, the celebrated German traveller and scholar, in his "*Discovery of America*," with substantially the same facts before him, says that whilst "there was something visionary in Columbus' nature, yet when the time for action arrived he was never found wanting in decision and energy" ; and describes him generally, as a man in whose organization were united physical energy and strong ideality ; that he had a glowing imagination, with which were combined, however, acute powers of observation and an earnest desire to gain experience ; tendencies so opposite, that in most men the imagination or the practical will predominates, but in his case the proper balance was maintained. Finally, Mr. Winsor says that, "no man craves more than Columbus to be judged with all the palliations demanded of a difference of his own age and ours," and then impairs the effect of this concession by saying that he considers it his duty at the same time, to judge the paths which he trod by the scale of an eternal nobleness.\*

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\* Winsor's *Columbus*, pp. 449 to 512.

In this conflict I have asked our associate Fellow, Mr. Ponce de Leon, for his opinion, as he has read nearly everything relating to Columbus, and it is not very favorable. It is this : that he was a type of the Italian of that period, having no regard for the truth, when he thought it his interest to resort to falsehood, and who could play the hypocrite, as he did with Isabella, when he deemed it necessary ; that he was cringing to superiors and overbearing to inferiors, qualities usually combined, and was hated by nearly every one under him. While ambitious of renown, he was avaricious and mean in money matters, wanting everything for himself. He was outwardly devout, but never suffered his religion to interfere with anything he wanted to do ; that he was a man of great energy and of an iron will, but was not cruel, and altogether a better man than most of those that he had to deal with ; that it is to be considered that what he often witnessed, the cruelties that the Inquisition inflicted upon the Moors and the Jews, and the sale of enemies and negroes as slaves, had made him callous to human suffering and indifferent to the rights of his fellow-men. Mr. Ponce de Leon thinks that after he was brought to Spain in chains, his mental faculties became impaired ; that he was thereafter sad, depressed and discontented, his correspondence during this period showing that he was not the man that he had been, and finally that he was not worse than his age, but upon the whole better, which, in respect to that age, he says, is saying a great deal.

But as it is desirable, for the purpose already stated, that we should have, amid this conflict of opinion, the best idea of him that can be obtained, I have selected

what I regard as the broadest, the fairest and as a whole the most complete representation of him I know of, which is the one given by Peschel, the eminent German geographer and anthropologist, abridging it somewhat in the translation

He says : " What made Columbus so great was the stormy impulse of his age to pass beyond the boundary of the Old World, which had become too contracted. It was a restless longing toward the East and a keen desire for its treasures that possessed all seafaring people before the birth of the great Genoese, and Columbus possessed what was essential for such an undertaking—a keen sight for the phenomena of nature and a lofty power of conception, which bound together as in one what was most remote and even most improbable, with surprising intuitions and amazing errors. If the creations of his fancy were as real and as vital to him as his great intuitions, their tenacious growth was so interwoven with all his knowledge, that he never gave way before the learning and intelligence of his age, which held him for a madman ; nor wearied, though repelled with scorn, in hawking about from one European court to another his vast design of a western way to the land of spices, and, though he knew it not, to an undiscovered world. Even after his great discovery he looked upon his deed as a miracle, his visions as the breath of a divine inspiration, and himself as the chosen instrument of a high decree.

" ' Neither sagacity nor mathematics,' he says, ' nor charts profited me anything. It came about only in fulfilment of what Isaiah had said.' During an attack of fever on the coast of Nicaragua he thought that he

heard a messenger from Heaven who comforted him with a promise that all his hardships would be recorded in marble. He brooded over the prophetic chorus in the *Medea* of Seneca, in respect to what would take place beyond the Atlantic—[a prophecy made fifteen hundred years before its fulfilment and one of the most remarkable ever uttered by man,—which, translated from the Latin, may be rendered in these words:

The time will come in far-off years  
When the Ocean shall loosen the bonds of Nature,  
And a great land appear,  
And the seaman discover *new worlds*,  
And *Thule* be no more the farthest land.]

“Natures, Peschel says, which are deeply stirred within seldom have the gift of drawing strongly to themselves what moves and acts around them; men approach them with reluctance, and do not feel their neighborhood to be genial, which explains why Columbus did not win the enthusiastic attachment of the Spanish adventurers who followed him.

“Since we have been able, he says, by means of his written remains to draw nearer to this great man, as a man, we learn with pain that he was wanting in regard for the rights of his fellow beings. He hunted the aborigines with fierce dogs, treated them as property, the prizes of the finders, and distributed them to the holders of plantations, and gold-mines, thereby accomplishing their extinction. When we see, however, in our own day how the rights of the weaker races are shamefully violated, we may have some indulgence for this man of the fifteenth century, though it is bitterly to be regretted that he is not to be counted with the noble spirits of his age, like Isabella and the brave Domini-

cans of Hispaniola, who stood up and contended for the rights of the native population ; nor can we repress a feeling of impatience when this great man on every page of his writings, even in the pathos of religious visions, shows his greed of gain and is haunted by dreams of monopolies and fiscal plans. We sympathize with the man who gave a world to Castile, and died with a bitter feeling that he had served princes who were ungrateful, and who escaped by his death one stroke of fate which would have been harder to bear than the manacles of Bobadilla. It was permitted to him to carry to his grave the glorious illusion " that Cuba was a province of the Chinese Empire, that Hispaniola was the island of Zipangu, and that between the Caribbean Sea and the Bay of Bengal there lay no water-covered hemisphere, but only an isthmus. The discoverer of America died without suspecting that he had found a new continent. He believed the distance between Jamaica and Spain to be but the third part of a circle of latitude, and exclaimed : " The earth is not so large by far as people think." The doubling of the world by a new continent did not lie in his thought, and his great deed would have seemed to him sorely diminished if he had been forced to admit that behind the ocean, over which he had triumphed, there lay yet another vast sea, for then his plan to bring together the western and the eastern civilizations would have been left but half accomplished."

The earliest pictorial representation of the person of Columbus, of which we have any information, was in the gallery of Paolo Giovio, or, to give him his Latin name, by which he is better known, Paulus Jovius, at

Lake Como, in Italy, a wood-cut of which is in the second edition of a work of Jovius, entitled *Elogia Virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, or *Eulogies of Men illustrious for their warlike prowess*, published at Basel in 1576, and as this wood-cut is, as far as we know, the earliest published portrait of Columbus, it will be an appropriate introduction to this branch of our enquiry to give some account of Jovius and his celebrated collection. He was born at Como in 1483 and was consequently a contemporary and a countryman of Columbus, but probably never saw the Admiral. In 1506, when Columbus died, Jovius, who was then in his twenty-third year, was a practising physician in Rome, which profession he gave up for the pursuit of letters, and became distinguished as a writer of biographical and historical works; and having sought advancement in the Church, Adrian VI. made him a canon of the Cathedral of Como. When the Constable de Bourbon sacked Rome, in 1527, Jovius having lost all he possessed, Clement VII., to reimburse him, made him Bishop of Nocera de' Pagani, in the Kingdom of Naples, then under the dominion of the Crown of Spain; and in 1530, when the pope and Charles V., having been reconciled, had an interview at Bologna, Clement took Jovius with him, where it is said he was received by the emperor and the princes and noblemen in his suite with marked distinction. He was a man of learning and of ability, whose productions were widely read throughout Europe, but a venal writer, who from large gifts received from those whom he praised and those who feared the venom of his pen, and by the sale of benefices, amassed a large fortune, with the proceeds of



which he built a villa, or rather a palatial residence, upon a peninsula on Lake Como, upon what he supposed to be the ruins of the villa of Pliny the Younger, though in this, it appears, he was mistaken, and here he brought together a great collection of rare and curious things—antiquities, pictures, statues, and other works of art, medals, gems, novel curiosities, both from the East and the West Indies, and many other objects of interest, which were arranged in seven stately galleries, to which he applied distinctive names, such as the Vestibule of Homer, the Hall of Pliny, the Hall of Minerva, the Apartment of the Sirens, the Hall of the Graces, etc.; and he gave to the whole the general name of the “Abode of the Muses,” from the Greek original of our modern word “Museum.”

A great central feature of this collection was a gallery devoted to the portraits of illustrious men, of which Vasari says he had upward of five hundred, obtained largely by gifts from sovereigns, princes, noblemen, and artists; and among them was a portrait of his countryman Columbus. Italian writers say that he was constantly begging genuine portraits from kings, princes, noblemen and artists, and when he could not attain them by gift, that he employed the very best artists; and that he took great pains to secure those that were genuine. In the preface to his *Elogia*, 1551, he states that the warlike (*bellicosi*) heroes, whose eulogy he pronounces, “may be seen in his gallery set forth in their true likeness, in admirable portraiture.” And in his letters published by Ticozzi and Boteri, he refers to the great care he took in collecting authentic portraits, “never feeling satisfied,” he says, with those



he received, "fearing their incorrectness." As he was not only a Spanish bishop, but a man of great influence with Charles V., who gave him a pension, as well as with the eminent personages of his court, it may fairly be assumed that if a portrait of Columbus then existed in Spain, he, of all other men, was the one most likely to obtain it. Count Giovio says (*Lari Artistici*, Giovanni Giovio, Como, 1881) that it is believed that he got his portrait of Columbus from the navigator's son Diego, which, without something more authentic than this, may be regarded as doubtful, for Diego had been dead for more than ten years, when Jovius in 1537 erected his villa at Como.

It may well be believed that what he says of the great care he took to get only reliable portraits for his gallery was true. Some of the portraits which are printed in the first part of the edition of the *Elogia* of 1576, such as that of Romulus and a few others, were necessarily imaginative; but it may have been otherwise with distinguished men of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whose portraits, unless known to be genuine, would scarcely have been admitted in a gallery that was renowned throughout Europe, and that, with the collection of which it formed a part, was visited by people of all classes and of all countries, from kings and princes downwards.

Tiraboschi says (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. VII., Libro III., p. 897, ed. Firenze, 1810), that the Museum of Jovius was one of the most memorable undertakings which the love of the fine arts and of letters produced in the sixteenth century. He adds:

"The description which he himself and others after

him have made of it, excites astonishment in us that a man in private life could accomplish so much; and he owed a great part of the happy success of his great idea to his very histories themselves; for when it was known that he was writing the events of his time, many, solicitous for their good name, sent him valuable gifts, hoping in this way to render the historian favorable to them."

Its value may be judged by the circumstance that Giulio Romano bequeathed to it his collection of the paintings of Raphael. It was so celebrated that Cosmo First, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had copies of many of the portraits made for his collection in Florence, which are now in the Uffizi gallery. These copies were made by an artist named Cristofano dell' Altissimo.

Altissimo went to Como in 1552, the year that Jovius died, and completed the copies by 1555.\* Vasari gives a list of the portraits Altissimo copied. It is not in Bohn's English edition of Vasari, but will be found in the edition of Bologna, 1674 (3d vol App. Sign. Eff.). It contains 253 names, among which is "*Colombo Genovese*" and the portrait of Columbus, now in the Uffizi gallery at Florence, is supposed to be that copy. It appears also that another painter, Bernardino Campi, copied the *same series* at the *same time* as Altissimo for Donna Ippolita Gonzaga,† and if he copied the Columbus there would have been two copies contemporaneously made, by different artists, of the Jovian portrait.

Lanzi‡ says that Altissimo "copied the features of

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\* Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, Bohn's Eng. edition, Vol. VI.

† Notes to Vasari by S. P. Richter, Bohn's ed. of Vasari, Vol. 6, 301.

‡ *History of Painting in Italy*, Bohn's Ed. 1847, Vol. I., p. 197.

the celebrated men, but *attended little to other circumstances*; whence it happens that the Giovia collection, the Medicean one alone, exhibits many very dissimilar manners, but the features of the originals are very faithfully expressed," which Bryan repeats with the remark that these copies have a high degree of finishing without labor. \*

Jovius published several works in the form of eulogiums upon the illustrious men in his gallery, one of them being devoted to Columbus, and no one who has written before or since has pronounced a higher eulogium upon him. What is remarkable for the period is the thorough knowledge he possessed of what Columbus had done; the only error being that, as to its results, he confounded one voyage with that of another. In this Elogium, as he called it, which is well written and eloquent, he says who does not wonder that this man, with a most open countenance and the amazing strength of a vast intellect, should have been born in a mean little village near Savona, and closes his eulogium with this passage: "So that Columbus seems to be in every way worthy to be honored with a most fitting statue at Genoa, by those Ligurians who to-day regard things of the present time rather than those of a former period;" and how truly he judged them appears in the fact that it took them just three hundred years to act upon this suggestion.

It should, however, be stated that if what is said of Jovius by certain writers is correct, he is not free from the suspicion of being a man capable of palming

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\* Bryan's Dictionary.

off the portrait of another in his gallery as that of Columbus, if it could be done without fear of detection.

It is said that Adrian VI. made him a canon upon the condition that he would say something honorable about him in his historical works. Whether this was true or not, what he did say, and that not in a history, or a biography, but where it would scarcely be looked for, in a work upon Natural History, was that "he was without talent, ability, or mind, and, in a word, almost stupid." \* It is also said that he frankly declared that he had two pens, one of gold and one of iron, and that he used either, as the occasion served.

Bodin, while commending the elegance of his writings, says that he prostituted his pen in writing history and got more by telling lies than other men by relating the truth; that when asked why he told so many, he replied that he did it to oblige his friends; that he knew the age would not give any credit to his history, but that posterity would not doubt what he said. Vossius states that he promised an ancient genealogy to all scoundrels who paid him well, traduced others who would not, and had the fate of all liars, as he was not believed when he spoke the truth. Brantome calls him a great liar, Scaliger says the same, and Maresius speaks of him with the utmost contempt. But Bayle says that he can hardly believe that he confessed all that is related of him, as he boldly declared that he printed his book in the lifetime of those concerned, as he did not fear to be convicted of falsehood, and he has been defended by Oudin, Boccacini, Marcel and

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\* *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1816, tom. 17, p. 434, etc.

other writers; the truth probably being that he was not as bad as he was painted.

It is not probable, however, that he palmed off another portrait for that of Columbus. He could not have done so safely in a gallery so much visited, for there were men then living who had known Columbus, and Carderera says that at that highly-cultivated period of the sixteenth century it would not have been possible to put up a portrait of another in a public gallery as that of Columbus without detection.

This historian, biographer, and great collector died in Florence in 1552, and the reader of his epitaph in the church of San Lorenzo, in that city, was informed, in a Latin couplet, that he was the glory of the Latin tongue, and superior either to Sallust or Livy, a judgment which posterity has not confirmed.\*

The fate of his gallery may be briefly told. When Clement VII. gave him a better benefice at Como than he had had before, he also lodged him in an apartment in the Vatican, which he occupied until 1549. But Paul III., Clement's successor in the papacy, having refused to appoint him Bishop of Como, when that see became vacant, he left Rome and passed the remaining three years of his life at his villa in Como, or in visiting different courts in Italy, dying, as has been said, in Florence in 1552 of an attack of the gout. His villa was broken up by the military operations in Italy toward the close of the sixteenth century. The villa itself was destroyed by the rising of the water of Lake Como, and when Boldoni saw it in 1617 it was a ruin. The collection of the portraits of illustrious men, however,

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\* Nicéron, *Memoires*, etc., Tome 25, pp. 360, 361.

was kept together, as a whole, until 1587, when they were divided between two families of Jovius' descendants, the head of one family taking the men of warlike prowess, and the head of the other the learned men.

After this it underwent several subdivisions, which in the end resulted in the dispersion of the whole collection.\* Where the portrait of Columbus went was not known, but in 1880 a search was made, in that part of the collection which had descended to Count Giovio, at the suggestion of Mr. J. S. Jorin, a gentleman of Havana, who has for many years been engaged in investigations relating to Columbus, and a portrait was found with the abbreviated inscription over it of *Columbus, Lygur, Novi Orbis Reptor* (Columbus, Ligurian, Discoverer of the New World), Liguria being the territory in which Genoa is situated. This picture is now in the possession of Dr. d'Orchi, of Como, from whom it gets its present name, and I shall hereafter refer to it.

I will now, with the aid of the stereopticon, show you the portraits, beginning with those that alone, in my judgment, are entitled to consideration, and which in the order of time, as far as we know, are the oldest; and will then show you the more prominent of those that have been believed in, with little or nothing to support the claim made for them.

This is a photograph of the Jovian wood-cut from a copy of the edition of the *Elogia* of 1576 that is in my possession.

Carderera says of it, what will be equally obvious to you upon looking at it, that the proportion and gen-

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\* *Lari Artistici*, Giovanni Giovio. Como, 1881. Printed for private circulation. Lanzi's *History of Painting in Italy*. Vol. I., p. 197. Bohn ed.



eral form of the head, the long face and the curvature of the nose conform to the description of Columbus



THE JOVIAN COLUMBUS.

by his contemporaries, but that beyond this all is vague and uncertain ; that the right eyebrow is a perfect arch, while the left is rather straight ; that the upper lip is very confused, as well as the muscles of the face, which



are scarcely defined, because, he remarks, the art of engraving on wood did not then in such a sympathetic face admit of more perfect details. The wood-cut, he observes, is so rough and worn that it is impossible to judge with exactitude; that it would not be a sufficient guide for an artist to reproduce the physiognomy of Columbus, owing to the roughness and indistinctness of the engraving, and because it does not sufficiently define some important features. He and Señor Angel de los Rios, a distinguished member of the Madrid Academy, and an eminent literary man in Spain, agree that this wood-cut must be the standard in this enquiry, as it is the most ancient testimony that a portrait of Columbus had been painted, and because he is represented in the frock of a Franciscan monk, which was the kind of dress worn by Columbus when the curate Bernaldez saw him in Castile, upon his return from his second voyage. Señor de los Rios, moreover, has shown that this was the kind of dress then worn by sailors in Spain as a protection against the weather, and which, he says, is still worn by Spanish sailors and by farmers in the Basque provinces.\* Carderera compared this wood-cut with a sketch of the picture in the Uffizi gallery, which he had made for him by a distinguished artist in Florence and he was satisfied of the identity of the two heads.

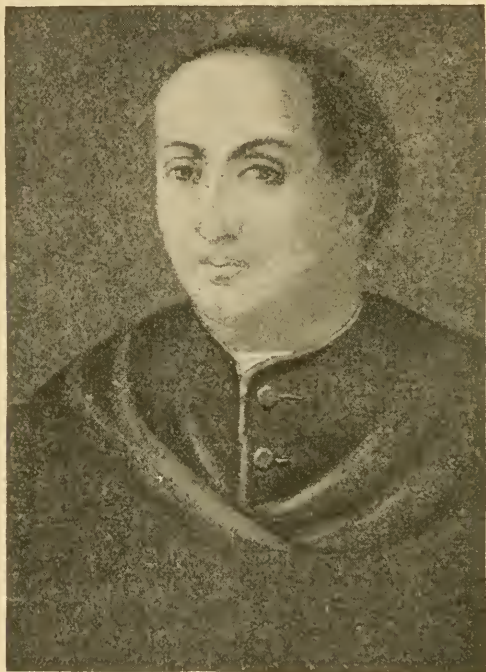
I will now show the picture in the Uffizi from a photograph of it.

You will see that it agrees with the wood-cut in the manner in which the hair is worn, in the shape of the forehead, in the high-arched eye-brows and the fixed

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\* Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, Tomo I., Cuaderno III Feb. 1879.

look out of the eye, so far as these features are indicated in the wood-cut; in the aquiline nose and the long face, which looks, however, fuller. I have seen this portrait twice during the past forty years, and if I may rely on my recollection, it represents a man of



THE ALTISSIMO PORTRAIT.

forty or a little over, with dark hair. We do not positively know the year of Columbus's birth, and his age at any particular period has, therefore, been a matter of conjecture; though as appears from a document recently discovered at Genoa it may be fixed within a range of five years. In respect to his hair, his son Fer-

dinand says that it turned white when he was thirty, whilst Oviedo, who saw him at Barcelona after his return from his first voyage, says that his hair was red, and he was then, according to the recently-discovered document, at least forty years of age, so that upon these two points there is the same uncertainty as in other matters respecting him. In pointing out that the face is more round and full in this picture than in the Jovian wood-cut, and that the hair is neither red, nor gray, but dark, you will remember what I quoted from Lanzi, that whilst Altissimo copied the features, he attended *little to other* circumstances, and I have read in another writer, whose name I cannot recall, that in making these copies he painted them so as to conform to the then prevailing taste of the Renaissance, and in doing so he may have taken many liberties.

In the general effect the two pictures do not look alike, in respect to which I may quote the remark of Carderera, that variations born of the school and mannerism of each artist are no obstacle to a good resemblance; of which I will now show you a striking illustration in two copies of this very portrait in the Uffizi Gallery.

When Thomas Jefferson was minister to France in 1784 he was desirous of obtaining a copy of a portrait of Columbus to bring to this country, and being told by the best-informed persons that the one in the Uffizi was considered a genuine portrait, he had a copy made of it, which is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and when Gouverneur Morris afterwards went as minister to France he also had a copy made of the one in the Uffizi, which after his death

his widow presented to the New York Historical Society where it now is. I will show you these copies together, and without a careful examination you would scarcely suppose that both are copies from the same picture.

You will observe that this picture in the Uffizi has not the Franciscan garment that is in the wood cut. It may be that the copyist, Altissimo, thought it unfit in the portrait of a distinguished man, or it may be that the engraver of the wood-cut, who, it appears, like Altissimo, was not a faithful copyist, may have heard, for the fact was then known, that Columbus had worn such a habit, and thought it appropriate in the wood-cut to clothe him in what was in his times the dress alike of a sailor and of an ecclesiastic.

The wood-cuts in the *Elogia* of 1576 were engraved by Thomas Stimmer. Ginguéné, a French writer, in an article in the *Biographie Universelle* in 1816, says that the portraits engraved in this book "were not copied with fidelity from those that ornamented the gallery of Jovius." He does not say upon what this statement was founded; but a century ago, he may possibly have seen portraits that were known to have been in the Jovian gallery. He was a very learned man and the author, among other works, of a voluminous history of Italian Literature. He was noted for his high integrity and his accuracy, and it may be fairly assumed that a scholar of this nature would not have made such a positive statement as this, unless he had found evidence to warrant it.\*

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\* Thomas Stimmer was a Swiss who, between the years 1570 and 1590, practised his art in Basel and at Strasburg. The art of wood engraving at that





THE ALTISSIMO PORTRAIT

(as copied for Gouverneur Morris).



THE ALTISSIMO PORTRAIT

(as copied for Thomas Jefferson).



Some years ago I met with a photograph of Columbus which greatly impressed me. I then knew nothing of the source from which it was derived; but in going over the Naval Museum of Madrid in 1881 I saw the picture from which it was taken. I made inquiries respecting this portrait, and a few days after-

period, the last quarter of the sixteenth century, was in a low state (Linton's *Masters of Wood Engraving*, p. 120), and Stimmer was among the best of those that followed it. He was, what was unusual at the time, a designer, as well as an engraver and was employed for some years by Peter Perna, the publisher at Basel, in illustrating popular works. Papillon says that he had taste and a marvellous facility in composition (*Traité de la Gravure en Bois*, tom. I., pp. 258, 259), qualities which would not necessarily warrant the assurance that he was a faithful copyist of 130 portraits of the Jovian gallery, but the kind of artist who might be tempted to take liberties. Ginguéné is not the only writer that refers to the want of fidelity in these wood-cuts. Nicéron, in his history of illustrious literary men (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, Paris, 43 Vols., 1724-1741, 847, H. L.), goes even farther than Ginguéné, for after stating that this *Elogia* of Jovius is one of the most interesting and useful of his works, says that it is sometimes found with portraits which are for the most part fanciful. Peter Perna in his edition of this *Elogia*, in 1575, states upon the title page that it is "*now* adorned with portraits, expressed to the life" from Jovius' gallery, and in his preface to another work of Jovius, *Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium*, published by Perna two years afterwards, which has likewise wood-cuts of the personages whose eulogiums are given, he says that the wood-cuts with which it is illustrated are "set forth with the greatest fidelity to the prototypes newly brought forth from that suburban Como, at no less expense than they were taken to it"; which may be nothing more than a publisher's advertisement.

Mr. Harris, in a recent publication (*Christopher Columbus and the Bank of St. George*, New York, 1888), says that the oldest effigy of Columbus is a rough wood-cut in Jovius' "*Illustrium Virorum Vitæ*" printed in Florence in 1549. I have not seen the edition of the *Vitæ*, as it is called, of that year, but the edition of the work two years afterwards by the same publisher, the Duke's printer, L. Torrentini, contains no eulogy on Columbus, nor any wood-cuts. In the same year, in the same city, the same printer published, the Jovian *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (Men illustrious for their warlike prowess) which contains the eulogy on Columbus, but has no wood-cuts, nor engraving of any kind, except the publisher's imprint on the title page. Jovius was the author of at least four different works which were either biographies or what he called eulogies upon the illustrious persons in his gallery. 1. *Elogia Virorum Illustrium*, Venice, 1546; 2. *Illustrium Virorum Vitæ*, Florence, 1549, 1551, Basel,

wards the head of the Museum politely addressed me a note, to the effect that neither he nor his predecessor had ever been able to learn anything respecting its history. I have since learned, from what is said of it by Carderera and from other sources, that the Minister of Marine, many years ago, ordered a portrait to be painted

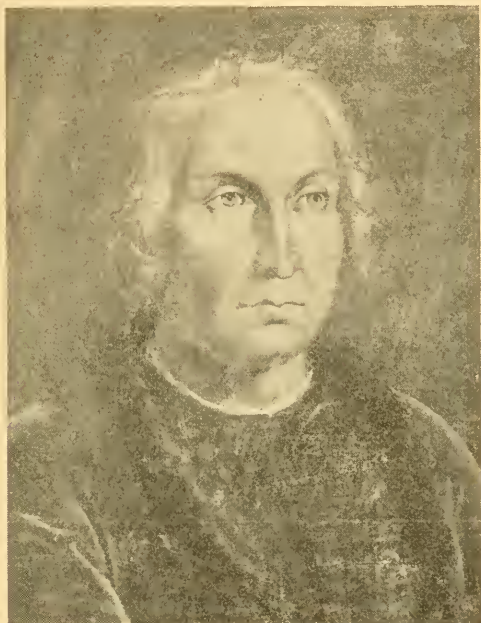
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1577; 3. *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrum*, Florence, 1551; Basel, 1575; 4. *Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrum*, Basel, 1577, and there are other titles: *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita quæ in Musæo Ioviano Comi spectantur . . . addita Adriani Pont. Vita, Venitiis*, 1546, fol.; and *Elogia Doctorum Virorum ab ævorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrum*, Venice, 1546; Antwerp, 1557; Basil, 1571, in respect to all of which there is some confusion among biographers and authors, as Jovius made additions and changes in these works, an elogium that had appeared in an earlier work being sometimes transferred to a later one as more appropriate, so that these different works are sometimes confounded with each other.

If the edition of the work known as the *Vitæ (Illustrum Virorum Vitæ*, Florence, 1549) contained this wood-cut of Columbus, as Mr. Harris states, it is noticeable that no eulogy upon Columbus nor wood-cut of him is in the second edition of that work printed by the same publisher in the same place two years afterwards, and that the *Elogia Virorum Bellica*, etc., printed by him the same year, 1551, has the eulogy on Columbus, but no cut of him; which I state, having examined both editions.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the wood-cuts, of which that of Columbus was one, first appeared in Peter Perna's edition of the *Elogia Virorum Bellica*, etc., in 1575, the title page of which indicates, by the words "and *now* adorned with portraits," etc., that the work was then, for the first time, illustrated by these wood-cuts. In a subsequent edition of the work some years afterwards, Perna, in a preface in which he dedicates this edition to Francis de' Medici, after mentioning that the work was "formerly dedicated to Cosmus, that great prince, by the greatest historian of our age," commends the edition to Francis, "as now illustrated by true images from the life, gathered, increased and ornamented with great care, equal art and no less expense," which I interpret as meaning that it was he, Perna, who had illustrated the work by these wood-cuts. There is another circumstance which confirms my impression that they first appeared in this edition of Basel of 1575. The engraver Stimmer surrounded each of the portraits with an elaborate border or frame, embracing figures and other ornamental designs. In the copy that I have of this edition, which contains 130 wood-cuts, ten frames are printed with the space for the portraits left blank, indicating that when this copy went to the press, the figures to fill these blank spaces had not then been engraved.

of Columbus for his department, and that the artist employed painted it from an engraving of Columbus by Capriolo, an Italian engraver, in a work called *Ritratti di Cento Capitani Illustri* (portraits of a hundred illustrious captains), which Capriolo published in Rome in

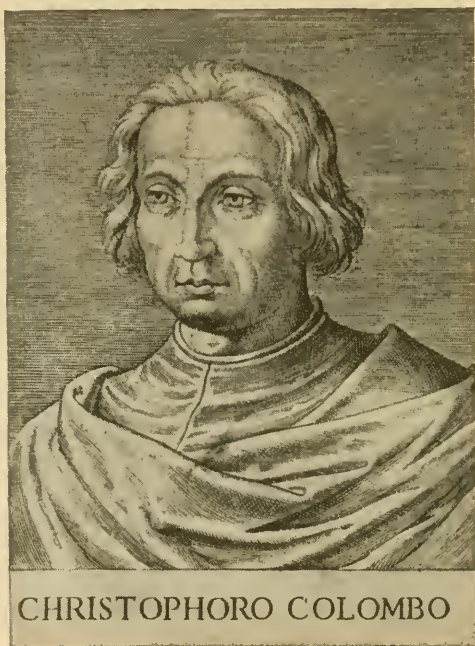


COLUMBUS.

(*Marine Museum, Madrid.*)

1596, twenty years after the publication of the Jovian wood-cut, and which, judging from the descriptions of Columbus' personal appearance that have come down to us and what we may accept as to his character, is to my mind the most satisfactory representation of him which exists. It greatly impressed Carderera, who thinks it was engraved from another portrait than the

one in the Jovian Gallery, which was painted from the life, after the great discoverer's final return from his fourth voyage, when he was sad and down-hearted, through the ingratitude of the king and his courtiers, but had an admirer in an artist who would have found



THE CAPRIOLO ENGRAVING.

a pleasure in making a portrait of so great a man, either in painting or sketching him.

The learned Baron Vernazza has said that it is not known that there was before 1506, the year in which Columbus died, any painter or sculptor living in Spain, except Antonio del Rincon, the court painter of Ferdinand and Isabella. It is an unsafe thing for any writer

to make such a positive statement as this, for I find that there were in Spain, during Columbus' time, fifteen painters, all men of ability,\* that several of them were portrait-painters, and that between 1492 and 1506 there were three painters in Seville, where Columbus lived during most of the time that he was in Spain, Juan Sanchez de Castro, Juan Nuñez, his pupil, and Gonzalo Diaz.

It is true that the painting of portraits of individuals was not then as general in Spain as in Italy or the Netherlands. Painters there were mostly employed in executing works for churches, or convents, or otherwise decorating religious edifices. They painted religious subjects such as saints, apostles, or scenes from the Saviour's life, generally representing single figures or groups of persons, of whom there being no portraits, they were painted from living models; so that these artists may be said to have been constantly employed in the art of portraiture, and any one of them could have painted a good portrait.

The more I have examined the Capriolo engraving, the more I have been convinced that we have in it the true likeness of Columbus at a late period of his life and such as no artist of that period would be likely to have created. The face is somewhat broader than in the portraits previously referred to; but this is a peculiarity of Capriolo's engravings. In all other respects Carderera and De los Rios recognized that the features

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\* Juan Sanchez de Castro, Pedro Sanchez, Juan Nuñez, Gonzalo Diaz, Nicolas Francisco Pisan, Jorge Ingles, Frutos Flores. Juan Flamenco, Francisco de Amberes, Juan de Flandes, Juan de Borgoña, Antonio del Rincon, Alvar Perez de Velloldos, Garcia del Barcia, Juan Rodriguez, and some others.



are the same as the one in the Uffizi. The stereopticon view of it that I have shown is from a copy of the work in my possession, now a rare book, which, after a search of many years, I succeeded in obtaining.

The argument of de Conches that if there had been a portrait to refer to, Oviedo, Fernando, and after them Benzoni and Herrera, would not have given such details of Columbus' personal appearance, is not conclusive. The utmost that can be inferred from this is that they probably did not know of any portrait. It does not prove that one had never been painted. Oviedo saw him upon his return from his first voyage, Las Casas knew him only in the latter part of his life, and Ferdinand was a youth of eighteen when his father died, and it does not follow if a likeness of him had been taken, that Oviedo, Fernando, or Benzoni and Herrera, or any one of them, would necessarily have known it.

In the engraving, Columbus is dressed in a close-fitting habit, as in the Uffizi picture, over which a mantle is classically draped. This the artist employed by the Minister of Marine did not follow; but substituted for it the dress in the Yañez picture, to be hereafter referred to, as that picture was in 1763, and painting the portrait in colors he gave the eyes, the hair, and the complexion as described by Columbus' contemporaries. It appears to have been removed from the Department of Marine to where it now is in the Naval Museum. I had a copy of it made while I was in Madrid for our Society, and it may be seen in our principal room. A recent German writer, who it would seem was not aware of the engraving of 1596, from which it was taken, thinks



that it, and the recently discovered portrait under the Yañez, are, when we carefully examine the description of Columbus by his contemporaries, the most like him.\*

Domenico Colombo, lord of the castle of Cuccaro, in Piedmont, claimed to be a relative of Columbus and a representative of that family who brought a suit before the Council of the Indies to inherit, when the male



THE CANCELLIERI ENGRAVING.

line of Columbus became extinct, and set forth, among other things, that his family had in their possession a genuine portrait of Columbus, which Harrissee thinks is entitled to consideration.

A fine engraving of this picture was published by Napione in 1808, in his work on the birthplace of Columbus, and another was published by Cancellieri, the writer of a work on the navigator, from which this portrait gets its name. Carderera, whilst recognizing its

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\* *Allgemeine Geschichte von Wilhelm Oncken, Berlin, 1882, pp. 232 to 240.*

general resemblance to the preceding portraits, points out a slight variation in the hair and in the eyebrows.

A few miles north of Genoa, close to the sea, on the Corniche road, is Cogoleto, which for more than a century enjoyed the distinction of being the birthplace of Columbus. It is a small village of a single street, upon one of the houses of which one Antonio Colombo in 1650 placed an inscription to the effect that Columbus was born in that house. I was at Cogoleto in 1881, and making some general inquiry of the person who occupied the house respecting Columbus, he took me to another house in the same street, and ascending to the second story brought me into a room where the village archives were kept. A venerable old gentleman, the apparent custodian of the archives, was seated at a table, and, when informed that I was making enquiries respecting Columbus, he turned in his chair and drawing back a green curtain exhibited what is known as the Cogoleto portrait. Isnardi, who wrote a book on the birthplace of Columbus, states that the history of this picture has been traced for more than three hundred years, a statement with which the picture certainly, at least in its appearance, agrees, for it is old and very much worn. The late Admiral Baldwin, who was then a member of our Council and at the time in command of the United States squadron in the Mediterranean, had, at my request, a photograph taken of it, of the size of the original, for our Society, which now hangs upon our walls. The portrait appears to me to have been the work of a not over-skilful artist.\*

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\* The photographic copy of the Cogoleto picture in the Society's possession was found to be too indistinct to reproduce in a satisfactory wood cut.

It has a hard, somewhat heavy and solemn look, but has the same features as the previous portraits, with the same depression in the chin that is seen in the Altissimo, the Capriolo and in the other earlier portraits, but much more marked. It has the same dress as in the Altissimo,



THE BELVEDERE COLUMBUS.

and it will be noticed that the mouth "is a little large," as mentioned in the description of Benzoni. It has the inscription above the head: *Christophorus Columbus Novi Orbis Reptor* (Christopher Columbus, Discoverer of the New World).

Among those who had copies made in the sixteenth century from the Jovian gallery was Ferdinand, Arch-

duke of Austria, who, in 1579, sent artists to Como to have copies of these celebrated portraits for his castle in Innsbruck, and the portrait of Columbus now in the Belvedere at Vienna is supposed to be one of these copies. This is from an engraving of it in my possession, and its resemblance, in its general features, to the portrait in the Uffizi gallery at Florence, by Altissimo, will be recognized.

This is from a book of engravings by Crispin de Pass, published in 1598, twenty-two years after the Jovian wood-cut and two years after the Capriolo engraving. It has the long face, the aquiline nose, the high-arched eyebrows, and the same dress as the wood-cut, with a gold chain, as Columbus was known to have worn one, and with a nautical instrument in his hand. Carderera points out that the shape of the nose has been altered by the engraver, and he appears to have made a few other unimportant changes.\*

In 1763 a Mr. Yañez brought from Granada to Madrid four portraits, all of the same size and general appearance, which were purchased by the Spanish Government; one of which was a portrait of Columbus. It had a light cloak crossing the breast, and in the dress and features was different from any portrait previously known. About twelve years ago it was subjected to a critical examination, when it appeared to have been retouched, and upon rubbing the paint in one corner the letter C was found, which led to a removal of the outer covering, when a much finer portrait was discovered beneath, corresponding in all respects with the descrip-

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\* The description given in the text is thought to be sufficient without a wood cut.

tion of Columbus by his contemporaries, and having the inscription on the top: *Columbus Lygir Novi Orbis Reptor* (Columbus, Ligurian, Discoverer of the New World).



THE YAÑEZ PORTRAIT.

Experts recognize from the canvas and other indications that it was painted in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was probably brought to Spain about that period, when a love of pictures and of all objects of art was awakened in the Spanish noblemen who returned from Italy. I saw this recovered portrait in Madrid in 1881, and Gen. Fairchild, who



was then our minister in Spain, had a copy of it made, which is now in the Wisconsin Historical Society, and is the one from which the photograph shown was taken.

This is the portrait in the Royal Library at Madrid,



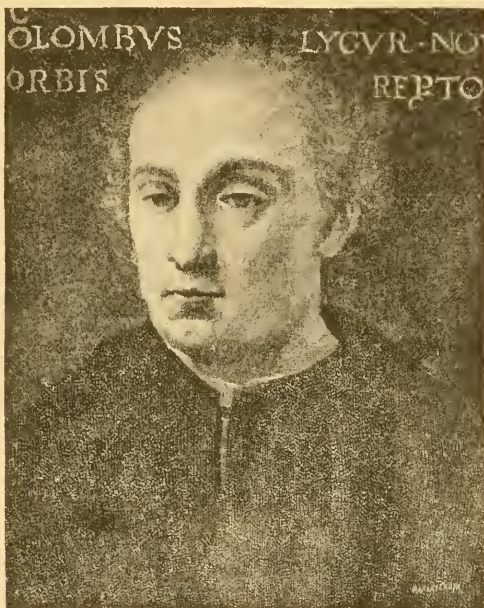
THE RINCON PORTRAIT.

which has been attributed to Antonio del Rincon. It is not found in the catalogue of his works that have come down to us, and nothing is known of its history beyond the fact that it was in existence in the early part of the seventeenth century. It is a very fine portrait, full of life and expression, and may well have been the work of the master to whom it is attributed. It represents a



younger man than the one in the Uffizi, and its correspondence with the features in that portrait will be readily recognized.

This is the d'Orchi portrait to which I have referred, and the last of those which I think entitled to



THE D'ORCHI PORTRAIT.

consideration. Mr. Jorin, of Havana, the gentleman at whose request, as I have said, the search was made that resulted in finding it, says that it was too old and worn to have a satisfactory photograph made from it, and that Count Giovio had a copy of it, in water colors, carefully made by a French artist, from which the photograph now shown may have been made, which I have taken from a French illustrated paper.

Mr. Jorin gave, in 1887 in a newspaper in Havana, a very full account of his relations with Count Giovio in the finding of this picture. He thinks it has been repaired and retouched, a long time ago. It has the long visage, the large arched eyebrows, the kind of forehead, the aquiline nose, the depression in the chin and the same distribution of the hair and the same dress as in the Uffizi picture, and from the circumstances under which it was found, it may possibly be the portrait that was in the Jovian gallery. It is a strong and satisfactory picture, and looks like one that may have been painted from life.

My address has extended to such length as not to admit of any thing beyond some general observations upon these nine portraits, which embrace the earliest known. I can only say that they all, to me, represent the same man. You have seen them, however, and can form your own judgment. They differ from each other in the expression and in their general effect, and so do the original portraits of Washington by Peale, Sharpless, Robertson, Stuart and others. It is certainly remarkable that they all have the same features, or characteristics, the peculiar curved depression in the chin, which no artist is likely to have invented; the large expansive bony orbit of the eyes, the aquiline nose, the recognizable length of the visage and the ample chest, denoting the "well formed man" of "robust limbs" as Columbus is stated to have been by Oviedo and his son Ferdinand, which convince me that one or more of them are actual portraits, or that they all have been painted from a common type. The Rincon is that of a younger looking man than the d'Orchi, while the

d'Orchi is a face not as old as the one in the Capriolo engraving. The face of a person differs at different periods of life, and the change is often so great that the man at one stage of life differs very much from the same man at another. If the Spanish experts are right in their supposition that the recovered Yañez, as well as the three pictures that were purchased with it by the Spanish Government in 1763, were, from the indications upon which they rely, all painted about the middle of the sixteenth century, then the Yañez may have been painted from the one that was in the Jovian gallery, which was then in existence, and that there was a portrait of Columbus there, I think after what has been stated, admits of no doubt. I regard the Capriolo engraving, the Yañez, and the d'Orchi as the most satisfactory. I think we have in them the true features and general appearance of Columbus; the d'Orchi at an earlier, and the Capriolo at a later period. Carderera considered the Capriolo engraving the most valuable of all the representations of Columbus with which he was acquainted when he wrote his article on Don Angel de los Rios' report in 1879,\* and so far as my information has extended, that appears to be generally the opinion of artists and those most competent to judge.

I will now show you the more prominent of the pictures that have been supposed to be portraits of Columbus.

This is from an engraving in a work published by Thevet in 1586, who says he engraved it from a portrait that he found in Lisbon. It is not probable that Columbus had his portrait painted at the early period

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\* Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, Tomo I., Cuaderno III., p. 258.

that he was in that city, and this represents a much older man than he was when in Portugal. It has a great profusion of curly hair, a very large hawk-like nose, with a heavy moustache and large beard covering up the lower part of the face and leaving little to distinguish the general features, and contour of the face.



THE THEVET PORTRAIT.

Theodore De Bry published for some years and in several languages a serial known as his *Collection of Voyages*. It has many imaginary things, and is a work of little value except to collectors, from its curious engravings and the difficulty of obtaining complete sets of it. The fourth part of this collection, which was published in 1594, has an engraved medallion head of Columbus. It is very small, about three-quarters of an

inch in diameter, and in the form of the head, the curve of the eyebrows, the aquiline nose, and, so far as it can be discerned, what appears to have been intended for a depression in the chin, it may be said to have some resemblance to the early portraits, but in other particulars it is unlike. The fifth part of this collection, published the following year, 1595, contains another and a very different engraved portrait of Columbus, which is the one here shown, and is now known and referred to as the De Bry. In the text of the work he gives this account of it: "Since Columbus," he says, "was a man of sagacity, of great intellect and courage, the King and the Queen of Castile, before he departed from them, ordered that his likeness should be taken to the life by some most excellent painter, so that if he did not return from that expedition, they might have some memorial of him, and I found to my great delight a copy of this portrait recently, after finishing the former fourth book, with a certain friend of mine, who had received it from the painter himself. I wished you also to have part in this, and to that end have had the likeness cut in copper by my son, in a small form, as perfectly as it could be done, and now show and present it to you." And then says, "and in truth the virtue of the man is altogether such as to deserve that his likeness should be laid before the eyes of all good men, for he was an upright man, courteous, magnanimous, and of good morals; a very firm lover of peace and justice." From the position of these words in the text, "*ab ipso pictore*" (from the painter himself), an ordinary reader would suppose that De Bry's friend received the copy from the painter to whom Columbus sat for the por-



trait, and this I think De Bry meant the reader should infer, as it would enhance the value of a book embellished by the engraving of a man whose virtue, he informs the reader, "was such as to deserve that his likeness should be laid before the eyes of all good men." If this was what he meant, that the copy was obtained by his friend from the artist who painted the original, the fact was scarcely possible, unless the artist had reached an extraordinary age, for in the year in which De Bry says he received this picture, 1595, Columbus had been dead for ninety years.

Spotorno refers to another statement of De Bry relating either to this or to the medallion head of the previous year, which Spotorno gives as one of his reasons for impugning the authenticity of the De Bry portrait. "Theodore De Bry," he says, "pretended that he possessed a portrait of the hero, the same that was to be seen in an apartment of the Council of the Indies, from which place, having been stolen and carried to the Netherlands for sale, it came finally into the hands of De Bry, who gave an engraving of it in his *America*."\* There is no evidence that there ever was any portrait of Columbus in any apartment of the Council of the Indies, and moreover an exhaustive search was made in inventories and other records of the royal establishments of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and down to and including that of Philip II., for any evidence that a portrait of Columbus had been in the possession of either of these sovereigns, and none could be found.

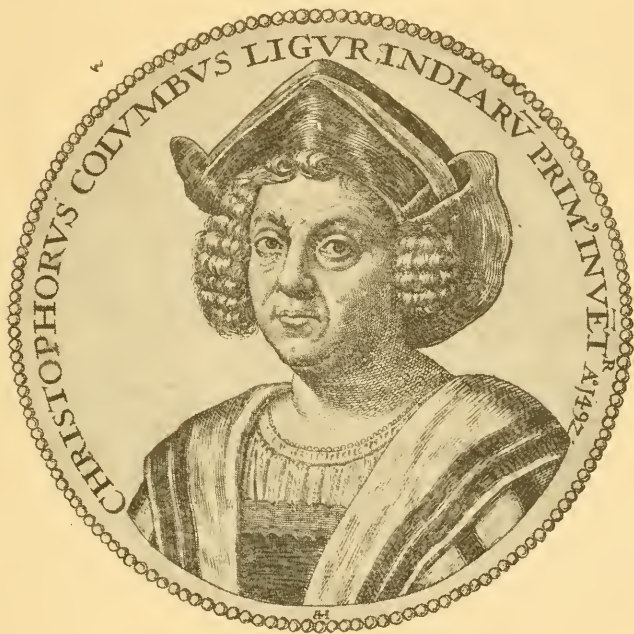
No reliance, I think, can be placed on the statement of

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\* *Memorials of Columbus*, p. cxvii., London, 1823.



De Bry. Navarrete distrusted it (*Memorias*, vol. viii., p. 18; *Boletín* I., 3, 245). Professor I. D. Butler, in his *Monograph on the Portraits*, calls it "a Dutch imposture," and that the whole account was fabricated may fairly be assumed from the fact that the per-



THE DE BRY ENGRAVING

sonage represented in the engraving in no way conforms to the description of Columbus by his contemporaries, and is wholly different from any of the portraits that are known to have been in existence before it.

There is nothing in it indicating the intelligence, acuteness and ideality we should expect to find in a portrait of Columbus. It is a heavy, stolid head with elaborate curls under a barret cap, and has three prom-

inent warts upon the face. If Columbus had three such deformities upon his face as these, his contemporaries who have described his features with so much exactness would, I think, have mentioned it.

The head in this engraving is shrouded in the large hooded cap formed from the chaperon, which came into use in the middle of the 15th century (Lacroix, *Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages*, p. 533; Planche, *Cyclopedia of Costume*, vol. i., pp. 294, 295), and the hooded cap and robes strike me as being Italian or German, rather than Spanish of the 15th century—the usual covering for the head of men in Spain at that period, as far as we can judge from the paintings and drawings that have come down to us, being the high conical cap and the sombrero.

Some years ago a portrait was discovered, known now as the Versailles portrait, which is claimed to be the one from which the De Bry engraving of 1595 was made, and, therefore, as supporting De Bry's statement. If this were true, however, it would only prove that fact, and would not verify the other part of the story. I have not seen this Versailles portrait, but when comparing the Darmstadt engraving of it with the one in De Bry, I am satisfied that instead of its being the one from which the De Bry was engraved, that it was painted from the De Bry. During the three centuries that have elapsed since De Bry's book was published there have been many reproductions of the De Bry, chiefly engravings. I have many of these engravings in my possession, and in most of them the engraver, or draughtsman, has undertaken to improve upon the De Bry by making it more artistic and effective. To

do; this many liberties have been taken and material alterations have been made. This is the case with the Versailles portrait. It has evidently been painted from the De Bry engraving by some artist during the three centuries that have intervened, who, whilst preserving the resemblance, has undertaken, and succeeded, by making material changes, in producing a much more artistic and finer work of art. It differs from the engraving in these particulars. The representation of the hair is not the same, the elaborate curls of the engraving being discarded. The position of the face is changed so as to give it a different expression, and the mouth is altered. Instead of the corrugated face and deep wrinkles of the engraving, the face is smoother and broader, the three prominent warts are not on it, and the figure is clothed differently. If De Bry's son had engraved from the painting, it may be assumed that he would not have put three warts upon the face, which were a deformity, when there were none in the picture, and this, with the other material differences, convinces me that the painting was made from the engraving and not the engraving from the painting.

I have been thus particular in respect to the DeBry because this representation of Columbus, which has nothing to support it but De Bry's statement, has been more multiplied and has had more prominence than any other. It has been inserted in several works as his true portrait. There is an exquisite engraving of it, by Raimondi or some other Italian artist, and the recognition of it still continues. At the late Centennial celebration in this city it was the chief decoration of

the City Hall, and the one that adorned the front of the Herald office.

This portrait is by Parmigiano. I show it, because so distinguished a writer as Prescott has given it in his History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella as the portrait of Columbus. I have seen it in Naples. It is a very fine picture, and evidently the work of that eminent master. It is sufficient to say that Parmigiano was three years of age when Columbus died, and if he intended it as a portrait of Columbus it was a work of imagination. It has a large moustache and long beard, neither of which was worn in Spain until long after the death of Columbus. It is probably the portrait of some distinguished Italian nobleman.

This is by Antonio Moro, a celebrated painter, a native of the Netherlands, who went to Spain in 1552 and was largely patronized by Philip II. The picture, which is an admirable work of art, is said to have been in one of the vessels of the Armada that was wrecked off the coast of Great Britain, and to have come into the possession of an English family. It has a moustache and ruff, neither of which was worn in Spain in the time of Columbus. It is now in the possession of Mr. Gunther of Chicago, who is said to have paid a large sum of money for it.

This is the one published by Muñoz in his work in 1793. It has, like the previous portrait, a large ruff, and has nothing to support it, except the reputation it acquired by being printed in Muñoz's work.

This is the one found by M. Jomard, an eminent member of the French Academy, about fifty years ago, in a gallery at Vicenza in Italy, with the name of

Columbus upon it, and all that he could learn was that it had been bequeathed to that city by a family residing there. That it has a peaked beard, a large moustache and a full ruff is sufficient to show that it represents a person who lived a century after Columbus. The eminence of M. Jomard as a scholar and his belief in it gave it for some years considerable prominence.

Mr. Harrisse states that there is a portrait in the Arsenal of Cartagena in Spain of Columbus, for which he is said to have sat. In 1852 the committee, of which Carderera was chairman, being authorized by the Spanish Government to prosecute their investigation in all parts of Spain, and all Spanish officials being required to afford them every facility, caused enquiries to be made, among other places, in the Arsenal of Cartagena, and were officially advised that there was no portrait of Columbus there. As this was more than forty years ago, I thought I would have an enquiry made this year, and accordingly wrote to a friend in Spain, who had a correspondent in Cartagena, to whom he wrote, and who replied that the general in charge of the arsenal having been but recently appointed, he applied to his secretary, who had been in the office for years, and also to the general in charge of the Department of Construction, who had been in the arsenal as long as my friend's correspondent could remember, and to several other officers employed in it, and none of them had ever seen, or heard of any portrait of Columbus there; the correspondent adding that the only thing in the arsenal relating to Columbus was a marble statue of

him, made in Naples in 1876, and which had recently been presented by the government to the town.\*

I will now call your attention to the Albany portrait, because it has for many years had a prominent place in the Senate chamber of this State, and has been claimed to be authentic, with nothing whatever to support the claim. It was presented to the State by Mrs. Maria Farmer in 1784, after failing to sell it, as appears by an advertisement of the period in *Rivington's Gazette*. In her communication to the State she said that it was a copy of an original painting of 1592, which had been in the possession of her family for 150 years. It in no way resembles the description of Columbus by his contemporaries or the earlier portraits. Wm. Henry Bogert, the Clerk of the Senate in 1850, made an official report to the Senate upon it, in which he said: "The facts of a curious and eventful history cluster around this portrait. Its lineage is far better supported than that of most pictures presenting like claims, and every research made in respect to it has only confirmed its authenticity." It is extraordinary how men will write like this where they know nothing; and my old friend Mr. Bogert, who is not now living, would have been greatly mortified if I had told him what I thought of his statement.

I might refer to some other portraits, such as the Juan de la Cosa, the Montanus of 1671, the Berwick-Alba, the Malpica, the Cladera, the Venetian Mosaic,

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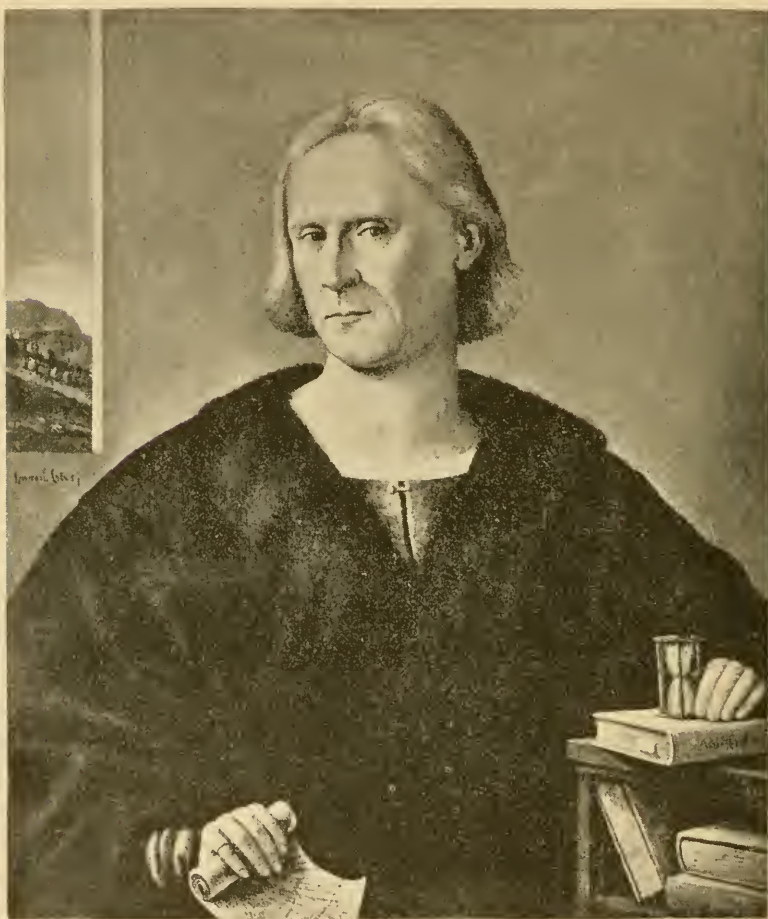
\* I have since received communications in writing made by the Secretary of the Governor in charge, and of the General in charge of the Department of Construction, stating that there is no portrait of Columbus in the Arsenal, and that they never heard that any portrait of him had been there.



the portrait presented by the Duke of Veragua, the descendant of Columbus, to the city of Havana ; the Hone portrait, engraved for Edwards's Work on the West Indies, the Flameng etching, reproduced in the work of Belloy, the Giulio Romano in Genoa, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, the Hull portrait in Connecticut and the two portraits, one a miniature said to have been given to an official in Washington by Sophia Matilda, Queen of Holland, and a larger one on panel, with a carefully painted ruff, which are in the possession of the Hon. Wm. A. Bryan, of Morristown, N. J., and some others ; but I shall pass them by, and refer only to the last one that has been brought to public attention, that known as the Lotto portrait, now owned by Mr. Ellsworth of Chicago, which has the signature of Lorenzo Lotto, an eminent painter of the Venetian school. Mr. HARRISSE has denied eight of the statements put forth in an account of the history of this picture, and has shown that the map which the person represented holds in his hand is the one made by Johannes Ruysch, which first appeared in the Ptolemy, printed at Rome in 1508, the earliest engraved map of America that is known ; "and as we are told," Mr. HARRISSE says, "that this picture bears the date of 1502," which would be six years before this map was published, he pronounces the picture a fabrication.

Mr. John C. Van Dyke, however, in an article in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* of last October, gives the date of the picture as 1512, "though," he says, "the date has been hastily scumbled over with gray paint." So that whether Mr. HARRISSE has been misinformed as to the date, or the date has been altered to 1512, is a matter

to be determined only by an expert. Under these circumstances the picture is not free from suspicion, for it



THE LOTTO PORTRAIT.

has not been unusual for pictures to be fabricated and sold as works of eminent masters that have deceived accomplished experts.

Mr. Van Dyke's paper is one that has been carefully considered by a writer well informed on the subject upon which he writes, and his reasons, therefore, for believing it to be a portrait of Columbus are entitled to respectful consideration. Assuming the portrait to be a genuine work of Lotto, as Mr. Van Dyke believes, and he is evidently well acquainted with the works of that master, the first enquiry is, what is known as to its history to warrant the belief that Lotto painted it as a likeness of Columbus?

Mr. Van Dyke admits that it cannot be traced beyond a certain Italian family that he names, and that at a comparatively recent period a person named Gândolfi, to whom it had been sold, had it somewhat repaired and restored. Mr. Van Dyke further says that from 1500 to 1503 no one knows where Lotto was, that he might have been in Spain and may have sketched Columbus from life and never finished the picture until 1512, but that it is more likely that Trivigiano, who was an intimate friend of Columbus, and who had an elaborate map of the newly-discovered countries made for Domenico Malipiero, a Venetian senator, about 1501, brought, with this map, to Malipiero in Venice some sketch or portrait of Columbus, as a complement of the map, and as a present to the Venetian senator; as Trivigiano, he says, in a translation sent by him to that senator of the first book of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, has a description of Columbus in these words, "Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, high, tall, red, very clever, with a long face," which he thinks "is insufficient and meaningless, unless accompanied by a sketch or portrait of the man, and that it is not impossible that such a

sketch, or portrait, served as Lotto's model for this larger picture."

This is all matter of conjecture, the bearing of which depends altogether upon whether it receives any support from the picture itself, which I have not seen. I can judge of it only by the engraving that accompanies Mr. Van Dyke's article, and deriving my impression solely from that, I should say that it does not.

Mr. Vandyke divides the portraits which are regarded as possibilities into two types, the Jovian, of which he says "the D'Orchi and the Yañez are examples, and the Ligu-rian type, of which the Ministry of Marine portrait of Madrid is a later and the Lotto an earlier presentation, and perhaps the archetype." He says that "the difference between the two men shown in these two portraits is slight indeed," and such as "might result from two different artists" viewing the same sitter, or the sitter himself being seen at two different times or ages, or from the careless restoration from which both pictures have suffered." He was evidently not aware that the Ministry of Marine portrait was painted about half a century ago, and has undergone no restoration; that the head of Columbus in it was copied from the Capriolo engraving of 1596, and that the dress was taken from the Yañez portrait as the Yañez portrait then was. It is better, therefore, to compare this portrait by Lotto with the Capriolo engraving, and upon doing so, instead of the difference being "slight indeed," there is a wide and irreconcilable difference. The Lotto has not the same round, prominent, bony orbit of the eye that is found in the Capriolo engraving, in the Altissimo, the d'Orchi and the six other

of the nine early portraits to which I have referred ; showing that the anatomical structure of this part of the head in the Lotto is different from all of the others. They have all, as a most marked characteristic feature, broad, lofty, arched eyebrows ; whereas, in the Lotto, the eyebrow is straight, with a drooping lid, that gives to the whole countenance a sinister expression, and instead of the "tinge of melancholy" that Mr. Van Dyke sees in the face, the face looks to me like that of a man who was frequently, if not habitually, cross.

Jovius, in his eulogy upon Columbus, obviously referring to the portrait in the gallery at Como, speaks of him as "this man with a most open countenance, of unexampled greatness of mind, and with the astonishing vigor of a great intellect," and in giving thus the appearance of a man in a portrait, he was writing about what he understood, for we have the authority of Vasari that Jovius was a man of much knowledge and judgment in matters respecting the arts in Italy.\* No one would think of designating the personage in the Lotto portrait as a man "of a most open countenance," while it would not be an inapt designation of the man in the earlier portraits I have referred to, including the Jovian wood-cut, imperfect as it is.

There is another difference. All these nine portraits represent a man with not an over-abundant head of hair, and that turned up and off from the forehead and sides of the face in natural curls. It is, in every one of them, what would be called a curly head of hair. In the Capriolo engraving the hair is much fuller than

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\* Vasari's *Lives*, etc., Bohn ed., Vol. V., p. 531.

in the others and falls down in long curls. But in the Lotto portrait the hair is not curled at all. It is long, straight and lank, and instead of springing up from the forehead as in the other portraits, it is there divided and falls down at the sides, in long masses, close to the shoulders, where it is trimmed evenly, so as to be of uniform length. In fact, the disposition of it is such as to make it so characteristic a feature in the man's likeness, that the artist, with a certain freedom of touch and considerable artistic skill, has evidently given an exact representation of it. It gives to the whole face a peculiar expression and in this feature is unlike any portrait that I can recall, except that of the musician Liszt. Mr. Van Dyke, recognizing, I suppose, its difference in this respect from the other portraits, cites the authority of Carderera for the fact that "in the Columbian period, among the better classes the hair was as long as to cover the ears, and cut in a horizontal line." But this does not reconcile the difference that in the Capriolo engraving, and in the other pictures, the hair is curly, whilst in the Lotto picture it is straight, and instead of curling upward from the forehead or falling in curls at the sides, as in the other pictures, it falls down straight in every part.

There is nothing in this Lotto portrait to indicate the man "with marvellous intuitions" of Peschel, or "of great energy and an iron will," as stated by Mr. Ponce de Leon, which is recognizable however in the capacious eyes and strong face that is found in the Capriolo engraving and in other of the early portraits. I do not see in it, as Mr. Van Dyke does, the "air of authority," and the "mariner" and "commander," but



simply a gentlemanly-looking personage, with somewhat of the keen and scrutinizing eye of a scholar, and instead of "the reproachful and half disdainful look" that Mr. Van Dyke finds in the face, the general expression of the face, as it appears to me, to convey it by a single word, is peevish. It is not a satisfactory picture upon which to found the belief that it is a likeness of Columbus, and it is greatly to be regretted that the United States Government, in commemoration of the Centennial year, should have stamped it on two millions of the silver currency of the country, and engraved it upon the postage stamps as a reliable representation of the person of the great discoverer. The Ligurian type shown in the portrait of the Ministry of Marine, Mr. Van Dyke says, repeats itself in succeeding engravings and ideal portraits, and is so familiar, he says, that painters of the present day adopt it in historical paintings of Columbus, and that "it seems to be the popular conception of what the discoverer ought to be." My investigation of the whole subject satisfies me that the popular conception is right, and if our Government had followed it, it would have been more creditable than to have adopted a portrait that has but recently been brought to the public attention and will not, as I have undertaken to show, bear the test of investigation; and with this criticism of the last picture that has been brought forward as a portrait of Columbus, my address will close.

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